

# Opposing and following responses in sensorimotor speech control: Why responses go both ways

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## ABSTRACT

When talking, speakers continuously monitor and use the auditory feedback of their own voice to control and inform speech production processes. When speakers are provided with auditory feedback that is perturbed in real time, most of them compensate for this by opposing the feedback perturbation. But some speakers follow the perturbation. In the current study, we investigated whether the state of the speech production system at perturbation onset may determine what type of response (opposing or following) is given. The results suggest that whether a perturbation-related response is opposing or following depends on ongoing fluctuations of the production system: It initially responds by doing the opposite of what it was doing. This effect and the non-trivial proportion of following responses suggest that current production models are inadequate: They need to account for why responses to unexpected sensory feedback depend on the production-system's state at the time of perturbation.

Keywords: speech production, auditory feedback, speech perception, pitch

## Introduction

An important aspect of action control is performance monitoring through sensory feedback. Such control allows us to either confirm an appropriate action plan, adapt to a changing environment, or learn from our mistakes (Wolpert & Ghahramani, 2000). For example, when throwing a ball, feedback could show us that the throw was successful, or it could indicate the need for adaptation to new conditions (e.g., if the wind suddenly shifts). Similar processes are at play in speech and musical production.

The importance of auditory feedback during speech production has been established in altered auditory feedback experiments (Burnett, Freedland, Larson, & Hain, 1998; Houde & Jordan, 1998). For example, Burnett et al. (1998) manipulated the pitch frequency of speakers' auditory feedback in real time. Typically, speakers respond by adjusting the pitch in their output in the opposite direction to the pitch shift (Burnett et al., 1998; Liu & Larson, 2007). Speakers thus compensate for unexpected changes in auditory feedback so that their actual output more closely matches their intended output. We argue here that there is more to sensorimotor control than these opposing responses.

Vocal motor control is a noisy process and needs constant feedback monitoring. In both speech (Akagi, Iwaki, & Minakawa, 1998) and singing (Akagi & Kitakaze, 2000), pitch production is not constant at the target pitch level, but fluctuates around the target. Pitch fluctuations are in fact an identifying feature of human pitch control, and removing them makes synthesized speech or song sound robotic (Akagi et al., 1998). These fluctuations are maintained by constant feedback monitoring and subsequent updating of the vocal motor commands. Using a vowel production task, Niziolek et al. (2013) showed that the auditory feedback control system is indeed sensitive to small deviations in vocal production.

Feedback monitoring and subsequent compensation is accounted for in several theoretical frameworks (Guenther, Ghosh, & Tourville, 2006; Hickok, 2012; Houde & Nagarajan, 2011). These theories hypothesize internal forward models, which predict the sensory (e.g., auditory) consequences of actions in real time. Predictions are compared with the incoming auditory feedback. A mismatch will cause the speech motor system to initiate corrective (i.e., compensating) motor commands.

In contrast to these model-based predictions, however, several studies have reported that sometimes, instead of feedback compensation, responses are observed that follow the direction of the altered feedback (Burnett et al., 1998; Hain et al., 2000; Larson et al., 2007). These following responses are less frequent than opposing (i.e., compensating) responses, and are usually reported at the subject level. However, looking at single trials, Behroozmand et al. (2012) showed that even subjects who show an opposing response on average may show following responses on some trials. Therefore, the focus on the average response may have obscured the field's view on the nature of following responses (Behroozmand et al., 2012).

Following responses have led some authors to suggest that voice pitch control has two feedback modes: one for tracking an external referent (eliciting following responses) and another for correcting for internal disturbances (eliciting opposing responses; Burnett et al., 1998; Hain et al., 2000). For example, in the context of choir singing, a singer might follow the pitch of another, as external referent (e.g., go flatter if the fellow singer is singing flat). However, the feedback signal of one's own voice should activate the feedback mode for internal disturbances and therefore lead to an opposing response (e.g., go sharper when you're singing flat). Both feedback modes may thus be simultaneously active.

The small number of studies that examined following responses suggest that such responses occur more often when the pitch manipulation is larger and that they have a shorter duration than opposing responses (Burnett et al., 1998). Behroozmand et al. (2012) showed that predictable altered feedback may encourage a tendency to follow the feedback.

Here, we investigated what factors play a role in feedback-based pitch control.

Participants tried to match a pitch target while vocalizing. They received auditory feedback through headphones, which sometimes was unexpectedly pitch-shifted for 500ms. None of the participants were aware of the pitch shift. We expected participants on average to compensate for the feedback, but at the single-trial level to sometimes follow and sometimes oppose the shift. Opposing/following balance may depend not only on whether the perturbation is considered as a self-generated speech error, or on how large the perturbation is, but also on the state of the system at the time of the perturbation. In Experiment 1, we therefore explored whether there are system-internal constraints that limit how it can respond to a perturbation. If so, then the system's ongoing pre-perturbation pitch fluctuations should be predictive of the response.

## **Experiment 1**

### ***Methods & Materials***

All raw data as well as major analysis scripts can be accessed online (Raw Data: <https://osf.io/pgrbe/>; Analysis: doi: 10.17605/OSF.IO/DAR54).

#### **Participants**

Thirty-nine healthy volunteers (age:  $M = 22$ ,  $SD = 3.6$ ; 27 females) participated after providing written informed consent as approved by the local ethics committee (CMO

region Arnhem / Nijmegen). All participants had normal hearing, were native speakers of Dutch and had no history of speech and/or language pathology. The sample size was based on a power analysis of magnetoencephalography (MEG) connectivity effects in Ford et al. (2005), indicating one would need about 33 subjects ( $d_z = 0,506$ ; power = 80%). We therefore planned to test at least 36 participants. This sample size exceeds that in most related previous studies (e.g., Behroozmand et al., 2012).

### Paradigm

Participants performed a tone-matching task while their brain activity was measured using MEG. The MEG data will not be presented here. A trial started with a short tone (duration 300ms). Subsequently, a visual cue (“EE”) instructed the participants to start vocalizing the Dutch vowel /e/ for the duration of the cue (3s), while trying to match the pitch of the tone they just heard.

The participants were recorded, and the recorded voice signal was used to provide online auditory feedback. In half of the trials, participants received normal auditory feedback (control trials). In the others (perturbation trials), auditory feedback was normal at first, but, starting 500-1500ms after speech onset, the feedback pitch was increased by 25 cents for a duration of 500ms, before returning back to normal feedback for the remainder of the trial. Most previous studies used shorter pitch shifts, to avoid volitional responses. For the purposes of the MEG analyses, we used longer perturbations, but they were smaller so participants were not aware of them.

Participants received 99 perturbation and 99 control trials, randomly mixed in two blocks of 99 trials.

### Stimuli

The stimuli were pure tones with one of three frequencies. The frequency was individually tailored to be 4, 8 and 11 semitones above the participant's average pitch as determined in five practice vocalizations.

The auditory feedback shifts were performed using the phase vocoder implemented in Audapter software (Cai, Boucek, Ghosh, Guenther, & Perkell, 2008).

All recordings were made using a Sennheiser ME64 cardioid microphone, which was set up in a magnetically-shielded room and connected through an audio mixer to a dedicated soundcard Motu MicroBook II outside the room. Auditory feedback was delivered through the same soundcard which was connected to CTF audio air tubes. Stimulus presentation was controlled by a Windows computer running Audapter<sup>1</sup> and MathWorks Matlab.

## Analysis

For every trial, the pitch of the participant's vocalization was determined using the autocorrelation method in Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2013). Pitch contours were exported to MATLAB for further processing.

Pitch contours were epoched from 500ms before perturbation onset to 1000ms after perturbation onset. The data were detrended and converted from Hertz to the Cents scale using the following formula:

$$F0 [cents] = 1200 * \log_2 \left( \frac{F}{F_{baseline}} \right)$$

Here,  $F$  is the original pitch frequency in Hertz, while  $F_{baseline}$  is the average pitch frequency in Hertz across a baseline window (-200ms to 0ms before perturbation

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<sup>1</sup>In the Audapter software, a pitch shift is sometimes accompanied by an unintended small intensity change. These intensity changes do not have bearing on the current results, given their small magnitude and the fact that they did not always occur. See Supplementary Materials for a detailed analysis.

onset). Trials that contained artifacts (sharp discontinuities or a failure of the algorithm to estimate a pitch contour) were removed from analysis.

Pitch contours in control and perturbation trials were compared using a cluster-based permutation test (Maris & Oostenveld, 2007). Samples for which the contrast Perturbation - Control exceeded an uncorrected  $\alpha$  level of .05 were temporally clustered. Cluster-level statistics were calculated by summing the t-statistics. Next, a permutation distribution of statistics was calculated by randomly exchanging trials between the conditions, and calculating the maximal positive and negative cluster-level statistics for each of 1,000 permutations. The observed cluster-level statistic was tested against the permutation distribution.

Each trial was classified as having an opposing or a following response (as in Behroozmand et al., 2012). Two different methods were used for classification. In the first, the point was determined within the time window 60-400ms after perturbation onset at which the average of the *rectified* pitch contours was maximal (point of maximal deviation). Linear regression was performed on the single-trial data between 60ms after perturbation onset and the point of maximal deviation. If the slope of the linear fit was positive, the response was classified as following, if it was negative, the response was classified as opposing. For the distribution of the slopes of the linear fits, see Supplementary Materials. No threshold was applied for the slope to be significantly different from 0, and additional analyses leaving out the trials with slope near 0 yielded similar results (see Supplementary Materials).

The second classification method used the Castellan change-point test (Siegel & Castellan, 1988). This change-point test yields the statistic K:

$$K = |2W_j - j(N + 1)| \quad j = 1, 2, \dots, N - 1$$



Here,  $W_j$  is the cumulative sum of ranks at sample number  $j$ , and  $N$  is the total number of samples. We calculated  $K$  for every trial over the time window 0-300ms after perturbation onset. The point where  $K$  is maximal is the change point. If  $2W_j - j(N+1)$  at that point was positive, the trial was classified as opposing, if it was negative, the trial was classified as following.

If the two methods did not yield the same classification for a particular trial, classification was determined through visual inspection of the pitch contour (this occurred on average in 23.0% of a participant's data, range: 7.2- 43.3%). If there was no clear response, the trial was excluded from further analysis (across participants, 7.9% (range: 2-16.3%) of trials). The classification procedure was performed on the perturbation and the control trials. Because there was no perturbation onset in the control trials, random time points were chosen, while making sure their distribution across trials was equal to the distribution of perturbation onsets within the same participant.

In order to examine how participants' responses depended on the state of their voice motor system at the moment of perturbation, the slope and the average F0 value over the 100ms before perturbation onset were determined for each trial type.

Another way to identify differences between opposing and following trials is to compare the magnitude and the latency of the responses. The peak response was identified for each response type in each participant by subtracting the average control response from the average opposing or following response. The response latency was then quantified as the point in time between 50ms and 500ms at which the difference was largest.

## ***Results***

Overall, participants compensated for the pitch increase in the perturbation trials by lowering their pitch (Fig. 1a). The pitch contour in the perturbation trials differed from the control trials ( $p = 0.002$ ). This difference was mainly driven by a component lasting from 144ms to 765ms after perturbation onset.

We then classified each perturbation trial as either following or opposing (or neither). The same classification was performed on the control trials. The distribution of opposing and following trials (Fig. 2) shows a clear effect of perturbation: in the control trials, the proportion of trials classified as opposing is about 50%, reflecting random fluctuations of the pitch contour, whereas in the perturbation trials, the proportion of opposing trials is larger ( $t(38) = 8.16, p < 0.001, CI = [0.14 \ 0.23], \text{Cohen's } d = 1.96$ ), ranging from just under 50% to over 90%. Participants thus followed the feedback perturbation in a non-trivial number of trials (10-50%).

As expected, the pitch contour in opposing trials differed from the following trials (Fig. 1b,  $p = 0.002$ ). This was mainly driven by a component (with opposing responses having a smaller magnitude than following responses) from 108ms to 812ms after perturbation onset, but also by a smaller difference in the opposite direction (following < opposing), from 91ms before perturbation onset until 77ms after perturbation onset. This suggests that before perturbation onset, the pitch contours in opposing and following trials already differed.

The pitch contour in the opposing perturbation trials differed from that in the control trials classified as opposing (Fig. 3a,  $p = 0.002$ ). This was driven by a component (arrows in Fig. 3c, 213ms-712ms) where pitch was lower in the perturbation trials and a later component (from 791ms) where pitch in the perturbation trials was higher compared to the control trials. A similar pattern was found for the following trials (Fig. 3b/d,  $p = 0.002$ ), where the perturbation trials had lower pitch than the control trials

from 338ms until 723ms after perturbation onset (arrows in Fig. 3d). So, even for the following trials, the pitch was lower than the similarly classified control trials. This means that the pitch increase (Fig. 3b) may not entirely be indicative of a following response, but may also (or instead) reflect an ongoing F0 fluctuation with an additional smaller opposing response.

The small early difference between following and opposing perturbation trials (Fig. 1b) suggested a difference before perturbation onset. The results of a Wilcoxon signed rank tests show that both the pitch slope ( $z = -4.24, p < 0.001, r = 0.48$ ) and average value ( $z = -5.25, p < 0.001, r = 0.59$ ) over the 100ms time window before perturbation onset differed between following and opposing trials (Fig. 4). This effect was also found continuously across the data, as well as for the trials within each response type (see Supplementary Materials). So the pitch contour before perturbation onset was predictive of the response type that the perturbation then generated, suggesting a dynamic interaction between ongoing pitch production and the feedback perturbation. With respect to response peaks, following responses peaked on average earlier ( $t(38) = 3.66, p < 0.001, CI = [0.02\ 0.08], \text{Cohen's } d = 0.74$ ) and were smaller ( $t(38) = 17.11, p < 0.001, CI = [24.28\ 30.80], \text{Cohen's } d = 3.91$ ) than the opposing responses. An earlier and/or smaller response in following trials can be explained as a result of the added effects of the perturbation and the following response, resulting in an even larger pitch deviation.

## Experiment 2

This experiment was carried out (1) to replicate the findings of Experiment 1 and (2) to extend those findings to a condition where the perturbations went in the opposite direction. We predicted that the direction of the responses to perturbations would again depend on ongoing fluctuations in the production system at perturbation onset.

## **Methods & Materials**

Twenty-four new volunteers (age:  $M = 23$ ,  $SD = 2.8$ ; 18 females) participated. The sample size was based on a power analysis of the Wilcoxon signed-rank test between pre-perturbation slope and response type in Experiment 1, indicating one would need at least 19 subjects ( $dz = 0.9$ ;  $\alpha = .05$ ; power = 95%). One participant did not speak loudly enough to trigger the perturbations, and was excluded from the analysis.

The procedure was the same as in Experiment 1, except for the following. The experiment took place in a sound-attenuated booth and no MEG activity was recorded. Stimuli were delivered through Sennheiser HD 280 PRO headphones. There were two experimental blocks, the order of which was counter-balanced across participants. The upward block was the same as Experiment 1 (+25 cents pitch shifts). In the downward block, all perturbations were -25 cents shifts.

## **Results**

The results show the same pattern as Experiment 1. Participants compensated for the pitch increase in the perturbation trials by lowering their pitch in the upward condition, and raising their pitch in the downward condition (Fig. 5). The pitch contour in the perturbation trials differed from the control trials (upward:  $p = 0.002$ ; downward:  $p = 0.002$ ).

Next, individual trials were classified. Figure 6 shows the average pitch contour for opposing and following trials for the downward (Fig. 6a) and upward (Fig. 6b) conditions. The proportion of opposing trials was larger in the perturbation trials than in the control trials (Fig. 7), both in the upward condition ( $t(22) = 6.75$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $CI = [0.12\ 0.23]$ , *Cohen's d* = 1.41) and the downward condition ( $t(22) = 9.33$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $CI = [0.18\ 0.28]$ , *Cohen's d* = 1.95).

The pitch contour in the opposing perturbation trials differed from that in the control trials classified as opposing (upward:  $p = 0.002$ ; downward:  $p = 0.006$ ), with pitch in perturbation trials being lower than control trials in the upward condition and higher in the downward condition (Fig. 8a, c). The same pattern was observed for the following trials (upward:  $p = 0.012$ ; downward:  $p = 0.002$ ; Fig. 8b, d). So, regardless of perturbation direction, both following and opposing trials reflect an ongoing F0 fluctuation with an added opposing response.

In addition, both pitch slope (upward:  $z = -3.77$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $r = 0.56$ ; downward:  $z = 3.98$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $r = 0.59$ ) and average value (upward:  $z = -3.95$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ,  $r = 0.58$ ; downward:  $z = 4.05$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $r = 0.60$ ) preceding perturbation onset differed between following and opposing trials (Fig. 9). This was also observed continuously across the data, and for trials within each response type (see Supplementary Materials).

There were no response-peak latency differences between following and opposing responses (upward:  $t(22) = .59$ , *n.s.*; downward:  $t(22) = 1.80$ , *n.s.*), in contrast to Experiment 1. However, Figure 8 does suggest that the following responses tend to return to baseline quicker than the opposing responses.

## General Discussion

The current study investigated speakers' responses to unexpected shifts in sensory feedback. An altered auditory feedback paradigm investigated whether responses were dependent on the state of the speech production system at shift onset. Overall, participants compensated for the pitch-shifted feedback by opposing the direction of the pitch shift, in line with previous research. This result is consistent with an internal forward model which compares the incoming auditory signal with the predicted auditory feedback (Wolpert & Ghahramani, 2000). Interestingly, all participants also

followed the feedback shift on some trials. The proportion of following trials varied across subjects (range 10%-50%).

Following responses are not in line with many models on sensory feedback processing for motor control (Houde & Nagarajan, 2011; Wolpert & Ghahramani, 2000). These models hypothesize that the goal of the motor system is to minimize the discrepancy between the predicted sensory representation and the sensory feedback. However, when participants follow the direction of feedback perturbations in their vocal output, the discrepancy between prediction and sensory input increases.

These models could account for following responses in two ways. One possibility is that participants may have difficulty determining the direction of the pitch shift. This difficulty may be due to the small magnitude of the pitch perturbation in this study; some listeners may be able to detect the pitch change (unconsciously) without being able to correctly identify its direction (Neuhoff, Knight & Wayand, 2002). Misidentifying the direction may lead to following the pitch shift by mistake. However, as following responses are less common with smaller feedback perturbations (Burnett et al., 1998), and given that following is more common when the pitch change direction is predictable (Behroozmand et al., 2012), it is unlikely that misidentification of perturbation direction is the sole cause of following responses.

The other possible account is that in some cases the auditory input is considered by the speaker to be externally-driven rather than self-generated. An externally-driven perturbation should be followed, while a self-generated shift should be opposed, in line with the model proposed by Hain et al. (2000). In the current study, however, it is unclear why sometimes the feedback shift was considered to be self-generated (leading to opposing responses) and sometimes to originate from an external source (leading to following responses). In addition, the fact that no participant reported being aware of

the perturbations suggest there were no clear changes in the perceived source of the auditory feedback.

We suggest that the following responses observed in both experiments may instead reflect system-internal constraints on the operation of the speech-production system. These constraints would need to be added to current models of sensorimotor control. Pitch is known to show fluctuations around a target pitch level (Akagi et al., 1998). These fluctuations could be driven by continuous feedback monitoring and (over)compensation. The current results indicate three interactions between ongoing fluctuations and the perturbation response.

First, the direction of the response was related to the F0 contour before perturbation onset. This suggests that the response is dependent on the current state of the system. Specifically, when the participants' pitch was decreasing or was lower than average, the response tended to increase the pitch, and when pitch was increasing, the response tended to decrease the pitch. This suggests that the system initially reacts to the pitch perturbation by doing the opposite of what it was doing, irrespective of the perturbation direction. This mechanism would be useful in a natural context. If a pitch mismatch is detected in the feedback signal, it is likely that ongoing compensatory articulations are going in the wrong direction. Thus, simply changing pitch in the opposite direction would be a good strategy.

The second interaction involved the comparison of the perturbation trials to the similarly classified control trials. Both the so-called 'following' trials and the opposing trials showed opposing trends, suggesting that for the 'following' trials, an opposing response may be added to an ongoing pitch fluctuation.

Third, Experiment 1 suggested that the response peak for opposing trials was larger and occurred later compared to following trials. A following response would be

detected as increasing the prediction error even more, leading to a quicker readjustment, and thus an overall smaller response with an earlier peak.

Following responses so far have not been documented in non-speech motor control (e.g., reaching movements). This may be because investigators have mainly applied perturbations from the start of the movement, and because averaging across trials could wash out the following responses. The current results indicate the importance of investigating unexpected perturbations in ongoing movements at the single-trial level. Future work should examine whether these findings generalize to action domains beyond speech motor control.

Together, the current findings show evidence of a dynamic interplay between the state of the motor system and incoming sensory feedback, in line with a dynamic systems approach to cognitive processing (Gelder, 1998). More generally, this study indicates that looking beyond the average response can lead to a more complete view on the nature of feedback processing in motor control. It also leads to the prediction that the direction of sensory feedback responses in domains outside speech production will also be conditional on the state of the motor system at the time of the perturbation.

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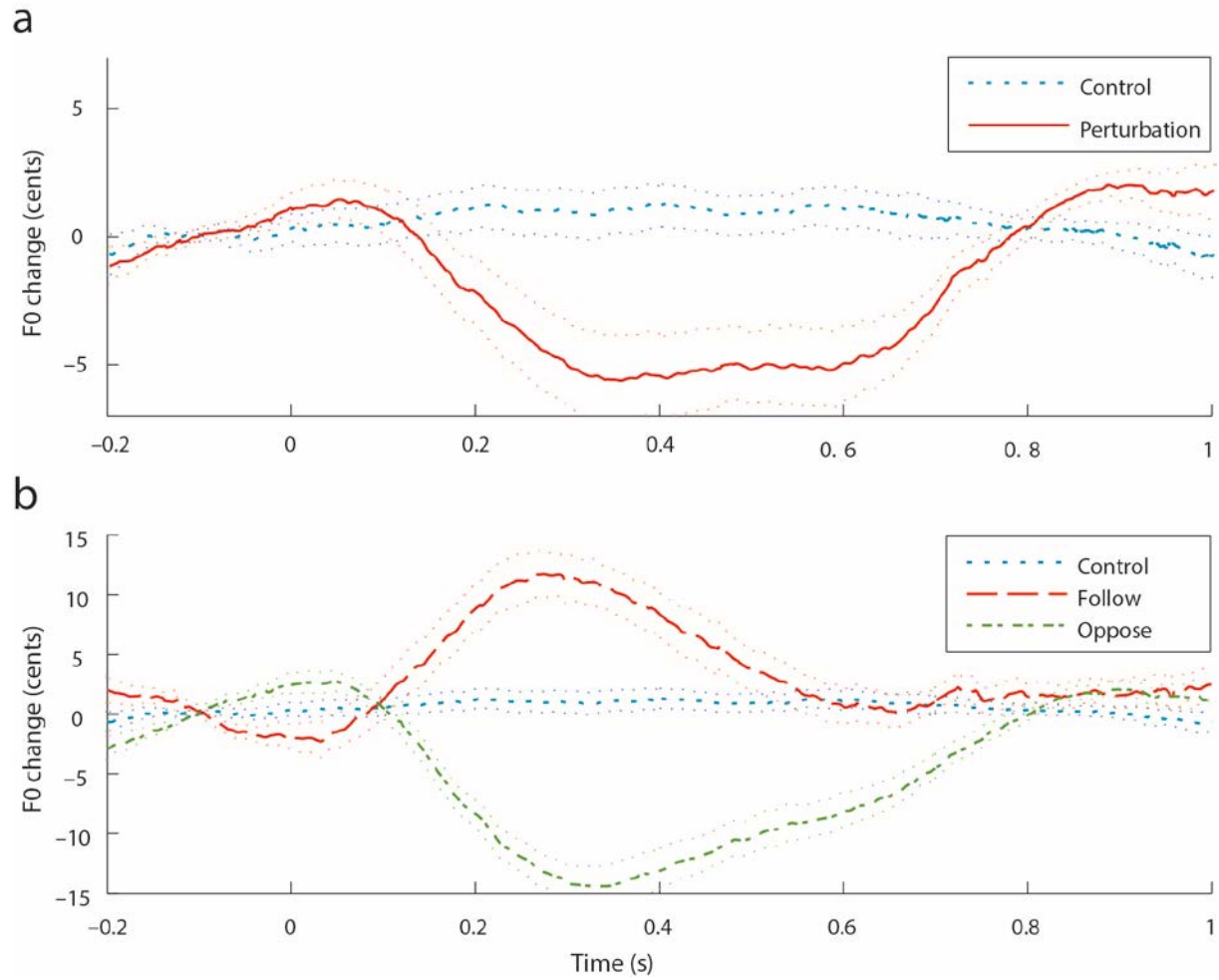


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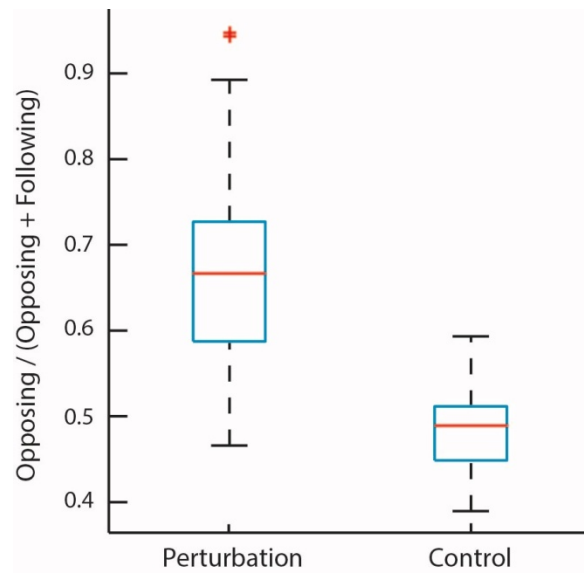
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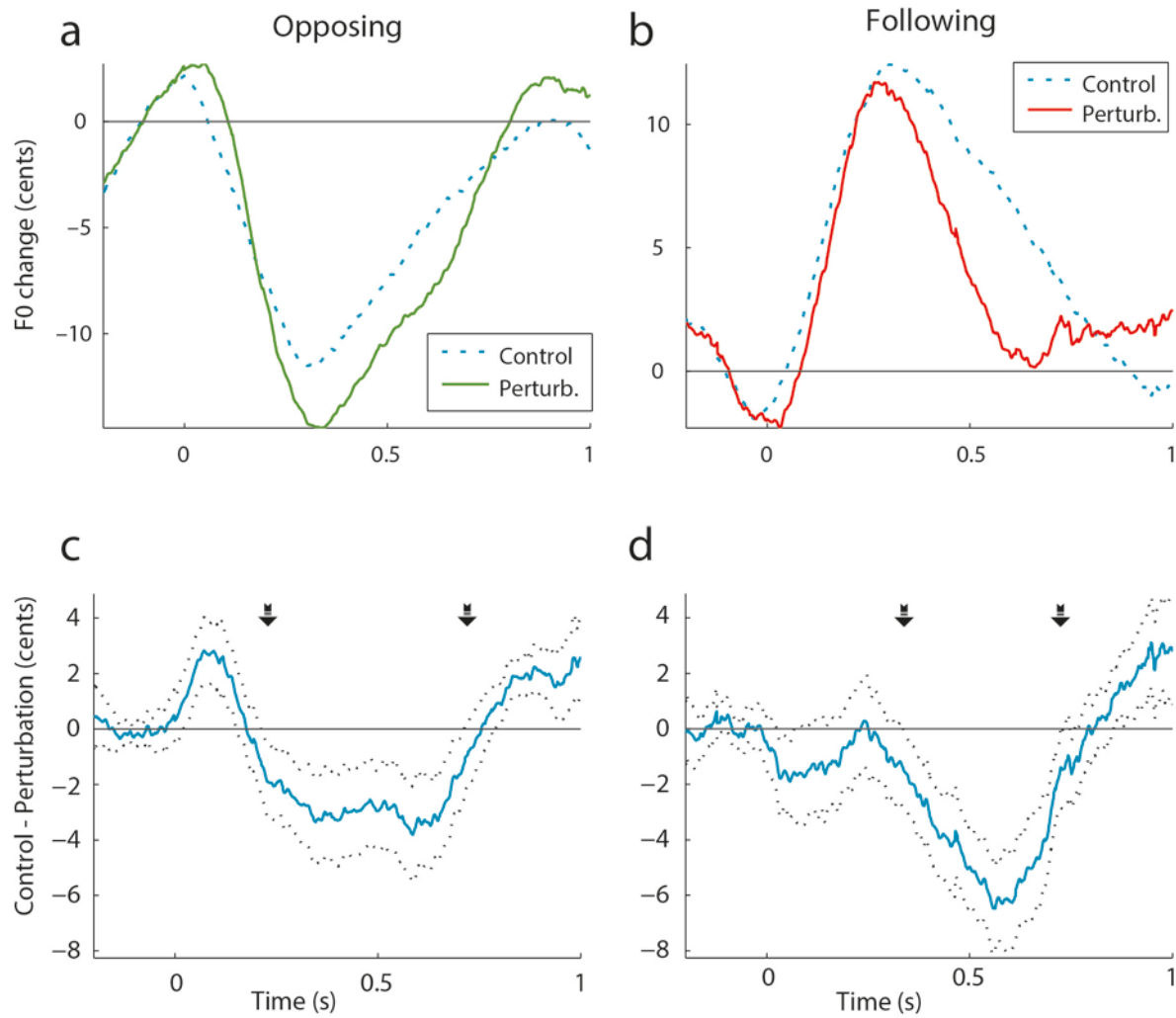
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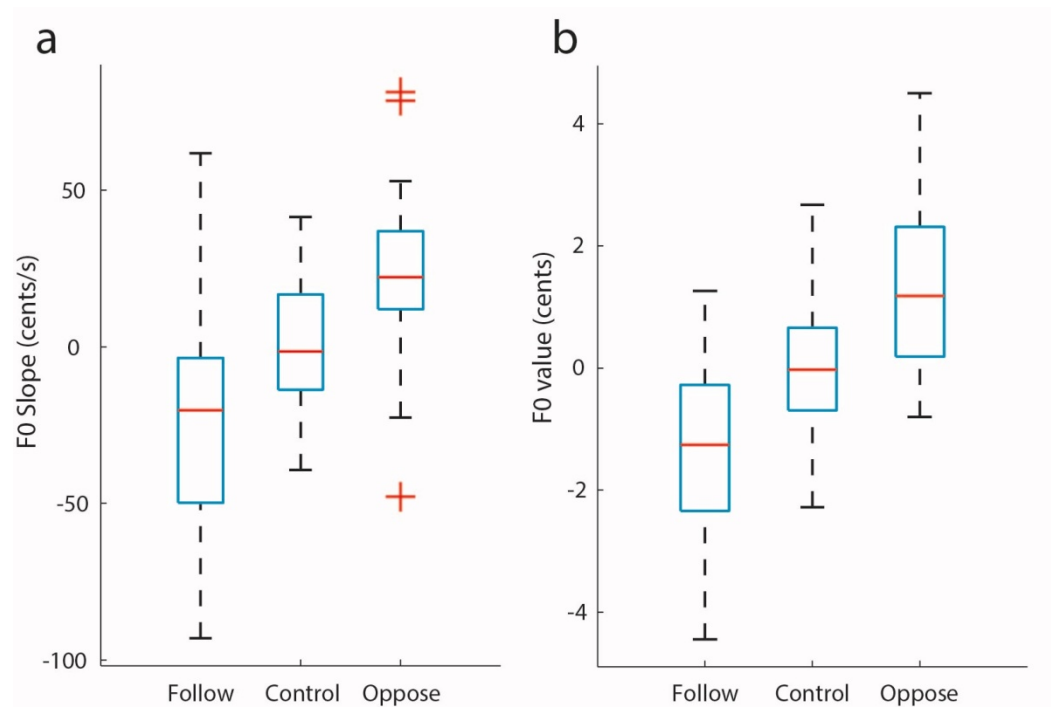
**Fig. 1.** Grand averages comparing change in F0 in perturbation and control trials in Experiment 1, time-locked to perturbation onset (a). The perturbation trial contour collapsed over opposing and following responses. In the perturbation trials, perturbation starts at 0s and lasts until 0.5s. In (b), grand average for the perturbation trials split up in following and opposing trials. Thin dotted lines represent the 95% confidence intervals.



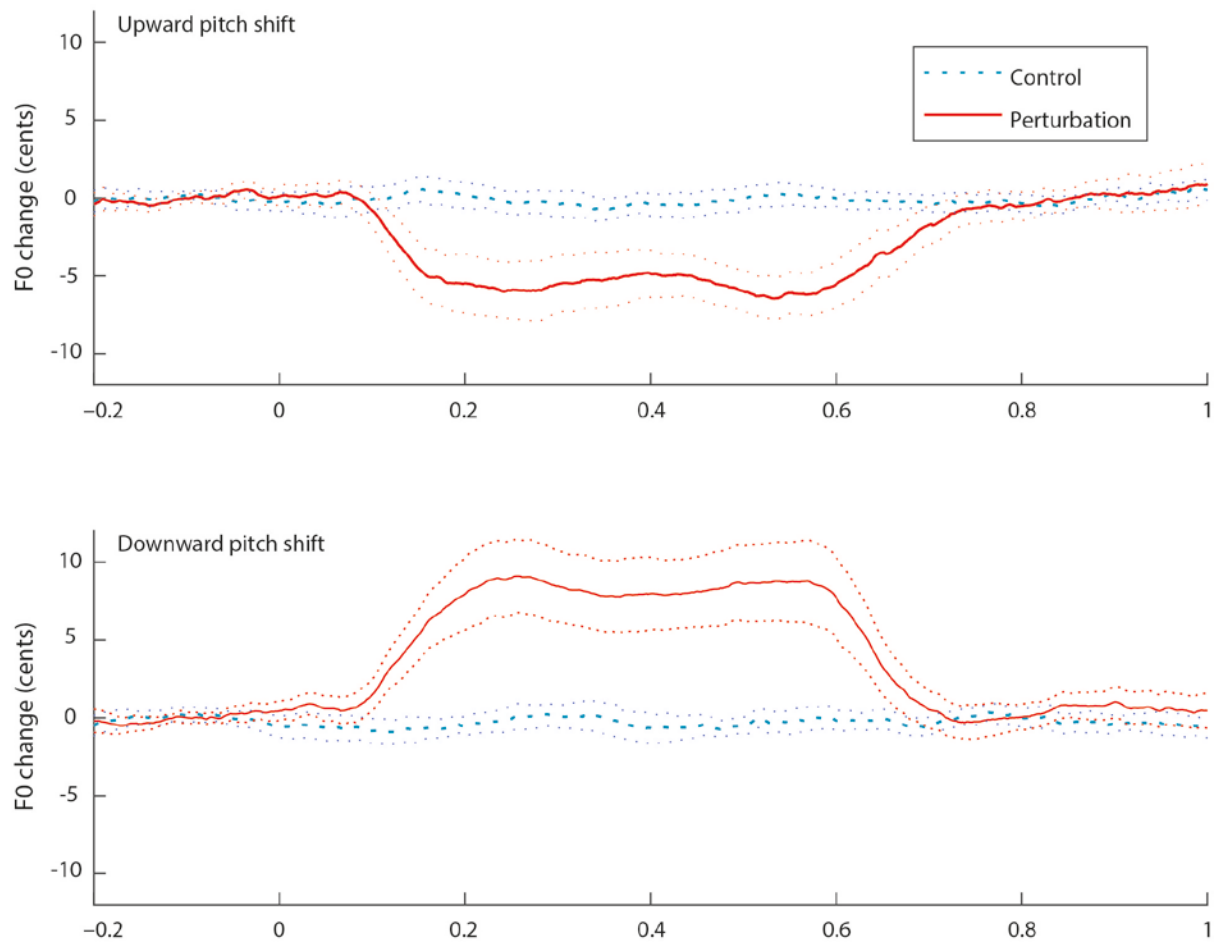
**Fig. 2.** Proportion of trials in Experiment 1 classified as opposing in perturbation and control conditions. The y-axis shows the number of trials classified as opposing divided by the total sum of trials that were classified as either opposing or following.



**Fig. 3.** Comparison of F0 change between perturbation and control condition for similarly classified trials in Experiment 1. In (a), F0 change for opposing perturbation trials and control trials classified as opposing. In (b), F0 change for following perturbation trials and control trials classified as following. In (c) and (d), difference waves corresponding to the comparisons in (a) and (b); dotted black lines represent 95% confidence intervals. Arrows indicate the onset and offset of the major component driving the statistical difference.

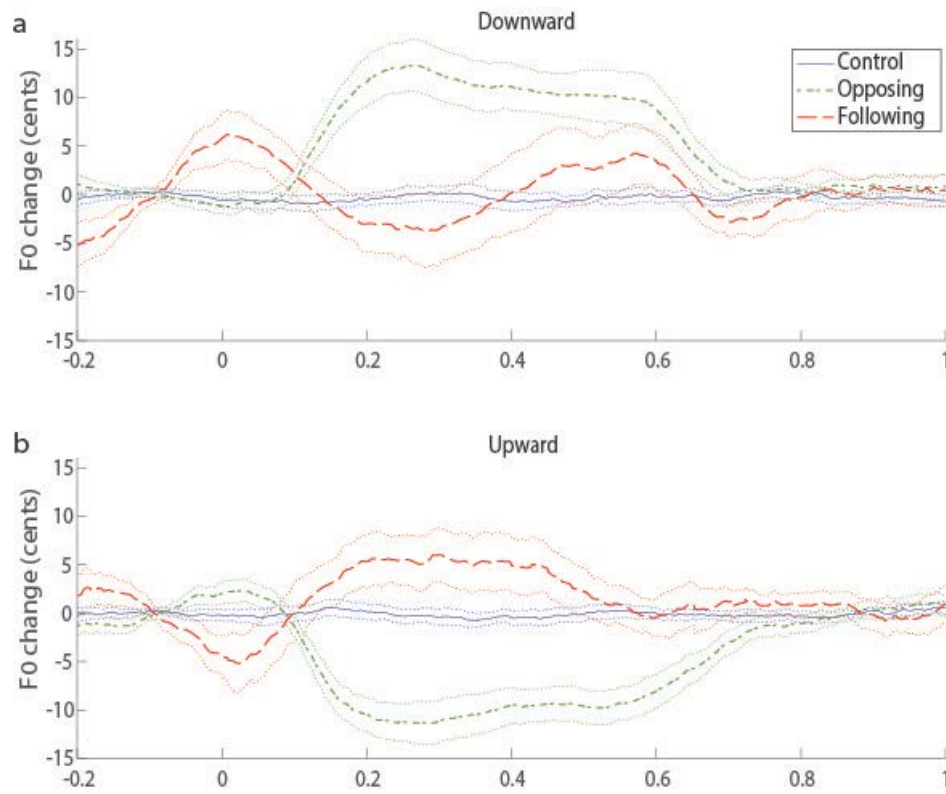


**Fig. 4.** F0 slope (a) and average F0 value (b) over a 100ms time window before perturbation onset as a function of trial classification in Experiment 1.

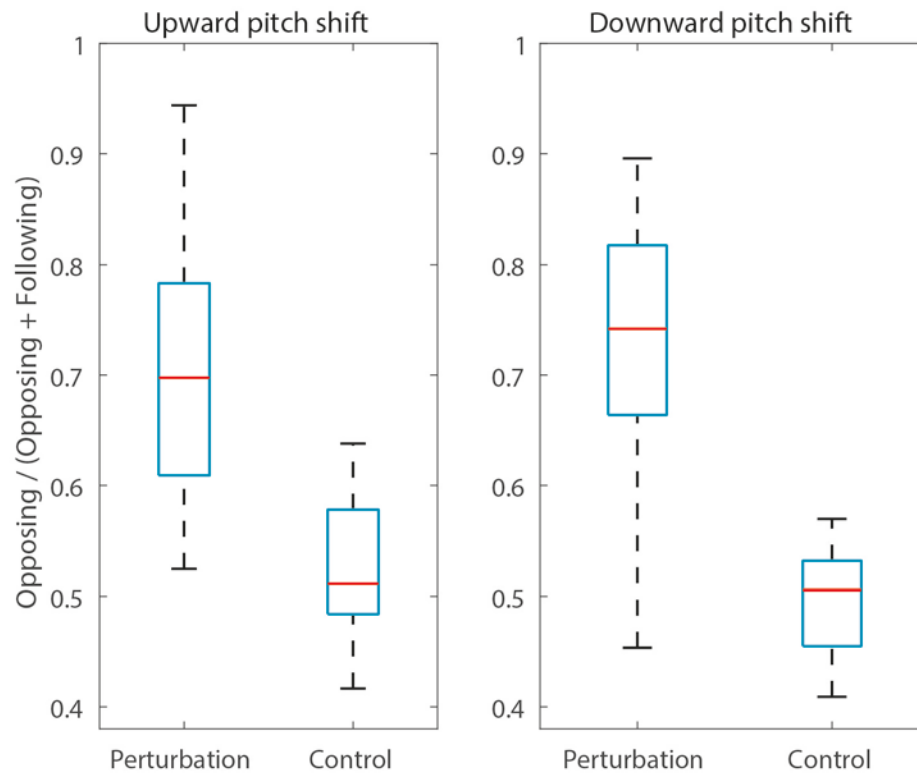


**Fig. 5.** Grand averages comparing change in F0 in perturbation and control trials in Experiment 2, time-locked to perturbation onset. In the perturbation trials, perturbation starts at 0s and lasts until 0.5s. (a) The perturbation trial contour collapsed over opposing and following responses for the upward perturbation block. In (b), the grand average for the downward perturbation block. Thin dotted lines represent the 95% confidence intervals.

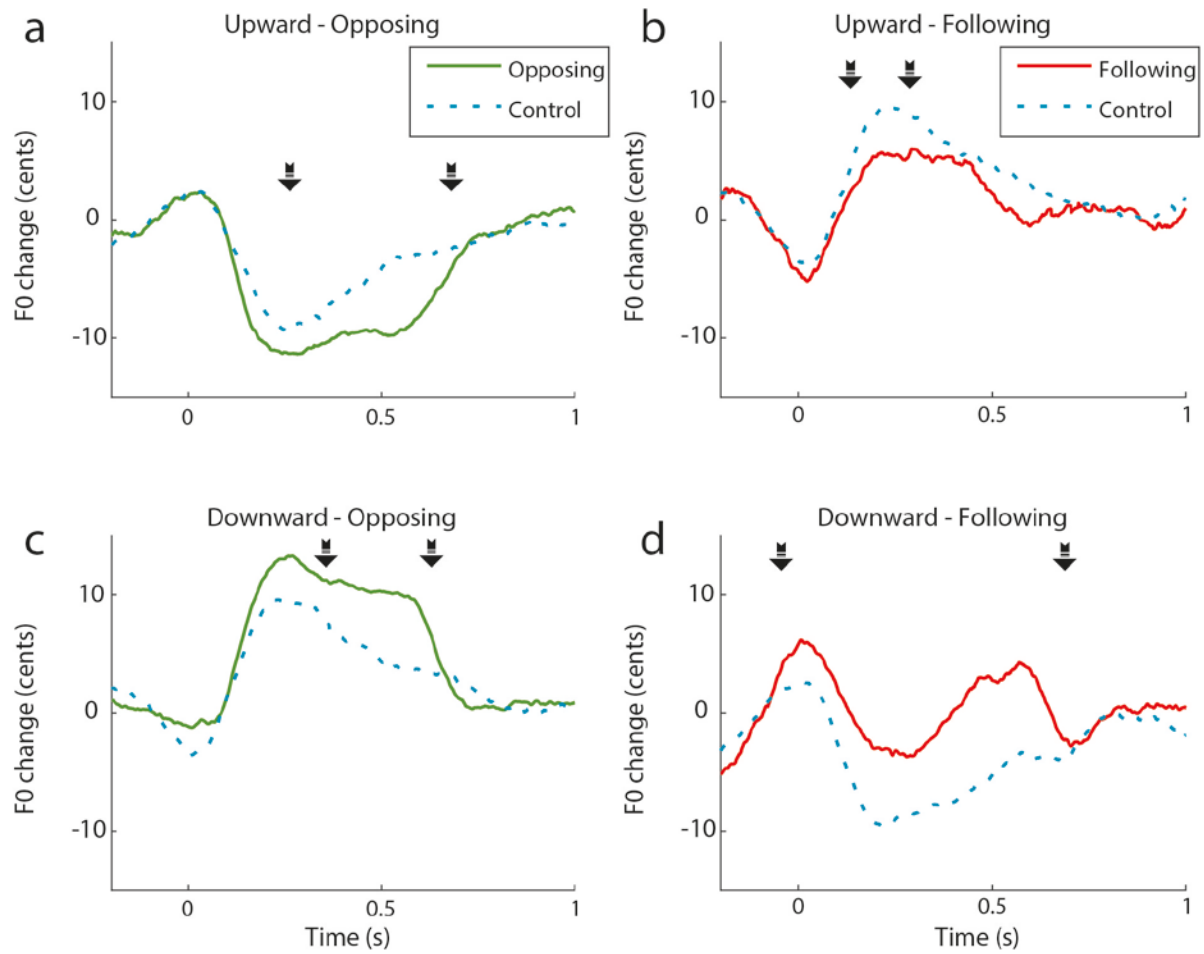




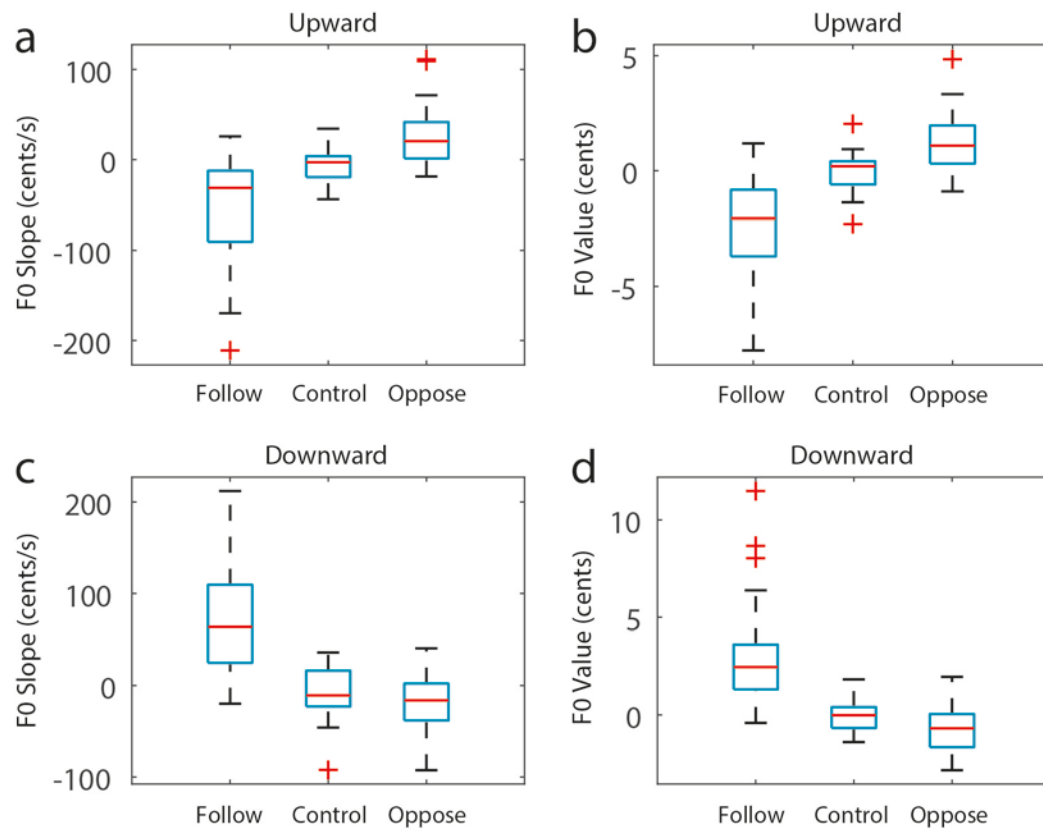
**Fig. 6.** Grand averages comparing change in F0 in control, opposing and following trials in Experiment 2, time-locked to perturbation onset. In the perturbation trials, perturbation starts at 0s and lasts until 0.5s. In (a), data is shown for the downward perturbation condition, in (b) for the upward perturbation condition. Thin dotted lines represent the 95% confidence intervals.



**Fig. 7.** Proportion of trials in experiment 2 (upward left, downward right) classified as opposing in perturbation and control conditions. The y-axis shows the number of trials classified as opposing divided by the total sum of trials that were classified as either opposing or following.



**Fig. 8.** Comparison of F0 change between perturbation and control condition for similarly classified trials in Experiment 2. In (a), F0 change for opposing perturbation trials and control trials classified as opposing in the upward perturbation block. In (b), F0 change for following perturbation trials and control trials classified as following in the upward perturbation block. In (c) and (d), the same for the downward perturbation block; dotted black lines represent 95% confidence intervals. Arrows indicate the onset and offset of the major component driving the statistical difference between perturbation (either opposing or following) and control trials.



**Fig. 9.** F0 slope (a/c) and average F0 value (b/d) over a 100ms time window before perturbation onset as a function of trial classification in Experiment 2. Panels (a) and (b) show the data for the upward block, panels (c) and (d) for the downward block.